372 /25 cont./
(see p.116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side. The hole is enlarged by the drilling. There is loosened a fine dust which slowly starts to smoke and glow and, by way of the groove, falls on tinder previously placed next to it (dry grass, leaves, or dry splinters of bamboo), which quickly catches fire. Cautiously the man blows upon it, and a short time later a flame leaps up. This requires a great deal of practice and skill, however; often he [171] has blisters on his hands after drilling. This is the most widely distributed method of producing fire in South America (120). In their malokas

120. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 118-125 and Map 13.

the Surára and Pakidái preserve the fire.

283

5. Twining and Spinning

[824] For making thread and cord the leaf fibers of a Bromeliaceae, curauá (121), and cotton are used, the latter, however, only in more recent times.

[114] [171]

121. Koch-Grünberg also verifies the use of this material for the northwestern Brazilian tribes (Koch-Grünberg, 1910, p. 210).

[462] While to this day the curauá fibers are worked, mostly by men and only occasionally by women, with the right hand against the right thigh in the direction of the knee, to produce thread twisted to the right (122), a spindle is used to make cotton thread,

[171]

122. Threads which are not spun with the spindle are twisted to the right among most of the South American tribes. There are exceptions, however, for among a few nations of northwestern South America threads twisted to the left are more prevalent, and

/26 cont./

283
[191]

122. (cont.)
in Guiana as well as in the Gran Chaco both thread twisted to the right and thread twisted to the left appear (Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 50).

[462] with which, however, a left twist is associated. The treatment of cotton -- xinarí --, starting with picking, then drying and bleaching, removal of the seeds, loosening and plucking apart, up to the spinning, is women's work.

The spindle -- xinarikã -- consists of a smoothed stick -- nuhú -- 30-35 centimeters long, for which the rib of a palm leaf is also often used, on the upper end of which a small barb -- nhobaná -- of the same material is attached with a cotton thread. [321] The disk-shaped whorl -- tankarã --, made by the men out of bone [322] or wood, is slipped onto the stick from below and rests in the cen- [462] ter of it. To prevent it from slipping off when the woman holds her spindle in a vertical position, there is a wrapping of cotton below the whorl.

283
191

From the description it may be seen that this is a typical Guianese variation of the "Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ spindle." "Only in Guiana and on the Amazon River," Frödin and Nordenskiöld write in their study, "Uber Zwirnen und Spinnen bei den Indianern Südamerikas /On Twining and Spinning among the Indians of South America/, "do we find the spindles provided with barbs, which, however, differ from the other Bakaïrí spindles only in that the spindle whorl rests near the center of the stick (Fig. 40)" (123).

123. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 24.

In two other respects, however, the spindles of the Surára and Pakidái differ somewhat, for among them the stick is not thickened at the bottom, and the whorl is held by a wrapping of cotton.

Puseheweteri
Surára

/32 cont./

292
531
237

Fig. 11. Fringed belt of an old Puseheweteri woman, with pierced mussel shells.

291
462
237

Finally, the Surára also use a child's belt -- yaoké -- which is always made by the father /33/ out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaó. These belts are 30-35 centimeters long and 2-2.5 centimeters wide. One end is pierced to receive a thin tie-string of cotton or curauá fibers. The string is wound around the other end several times and then knotted (Fig. 12). This belt, too, is worn in such a way that it is open in front. Only now and then is it put on small boys and girls between 1-3 years old, who at that age, of course, do not even wear the hip cord (see p. 60), in order to promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

284

/39 cont./

301 171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 789 832 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, [824] to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrë. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrë -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hií -- (see p-243).

302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemõno. Shaving the latter, [462] but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp.--) (see p.119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

Surára
Pakidái

/44 cont./

301 825 239 Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexinã -- occasionally adorns the perforation of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors.

[554]

• [562] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waikã. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

301 825 95

301 171 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Bororo, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

2: Becher--97 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sukárq
Pakidái

/45 cont./

301 43 822 [171] only then come beads in the colors of orange, yellow, black, and green (244).

244. Krause also notes with regard to the Karajá that they scorn green glass beads (Krause, 1911, p. 279), and among many other tribes there is likewise an aversion to this color (Menzel, 1957, pp. 17/18 and Pl. II and III). For this reason Brigitte Menzel asks the justifiable questions: "Could this rejection of green raw material among forest peoples be traced back to the predominance of green in their physical-geographical environment? Do they prefer other colors for reasons of contrast?" (Menzel, 1957, p. 18.)

301 462 They are strung by the women on cords of cotton or curauá fibers, at which the men occasionally help, and are used as neck chains, upper-arm and wrist cords, and ear pendants.

301 822 I was able to observe the following ways of making them: On a cord are strung, for example, only white, red, or blue beads. Depending on the taste of the person making it, however, a blue or red bead may always follow three white ones; others prefer the color combination of blue, white, red, or vice versa. There are many more variations, however, also in combination with other colors.

Moreover, chains are made of two strings, though less often. In this case, for example, a white bead is strung on both strings, then a red or blue one on one string, then again a white one on both, etc.

301 Women and girls like to wear several strings of beads, one over the other, as neck chains, whereas men and boys never tie on more than one. Only men wear upper-arm strings of glass beads and only boys and girls corresponding strings around their wrists. Short chains of beads which are fastened in the perforations of the ear lobes are worn by both sexes, though only rarely. Then,

/45 cont./

301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301 439 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriána. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

[114]

245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, I, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352 [824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) -- yâritanacfk -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill. 26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips [284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears [462] here/ strands of embira. The manufacture of this hammock is [824] extraordinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira [284] tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centimeters wide, which they tie together in the manner described above, after they have first plaited two ropes. To cut the tree [412] bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 119). Since the yâritanacfk is extraordinarily light, the men like to use it on their

Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

352
[192] Instead of the yâritanacĩk (embira hammock), the Surára and Pakidái men, on their rovings and hunting and war expeditions, also /47/ frequently use a liana hammock -- totokẽ -- (254) (255),

254. The name is derived from tototó, with which the liana (cipó-titica) is designated.

255. Except for a slight dialectal difference, the name corresponds to the Waikâ word -- "toto" --, with which, however, according to statements by Zerries, they designated their tree-bast hammocks (Zerries, 1955a, p. 87).

which is likewise very light but gives the sleeper a somewhat firmer support. The lengths of these hammocks vary between
[462] 1.90 and 2.10 meters. They, too, are without cross-bindings
352 and are likewise made only by men. This is done as follows:
284 The man has a rather large bundle of long lianas lying in front of him. He splits each one with his teeth into 3-5 flat strips and places these side by side. When he has gathered as many strips as he can easily grasp with one hand, approximately 200-250, he winds a thick liana around the ends. Below the wrapping he then divides the flat strips into several bunches of equal size, each of which he winds twice with two split, twisted lianas (Fig. 19 and Fig. 20). This makes the bundle of strips wider at the ends. As tie ropes the man uses three lianas plaited like braids (Ill. 27).

352
184 Such hammocks are likewise used by the Waikâ (256) and

256. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Xiriâna, but the latter Indians sometimes provide them with cross-bindings of cotton strings (257).

257. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 314 and Pl. 46 (1).

Surára
pakidái

/47 cont./

352 Finally, as the third and most important form, which is used constantly by men, women, and children, both in the maloka as well as during migrations of the tribe, the plaited hammock of cotton -- nyõ (258) -- is to be mentioned (Ills. 28 and 29). Aside

258. The cotton belts are also designated with the same word.

from the material, it differs from the two earlier types above all because of the weft. The lengths run between 1.60-2.20 meters, depending on whether they are meant for children or adults.
[462] Making them is again the duty of the men, though the women occasionally help a little.

352 Before they are made, two posts are rammed into the ground
286 and connected at top and bottom by cross-poles with lianas. The length of the hammock depends on the distance of the latter, for around these cross poles is /Figs. 19 and 20 appear here/ wound the continuous warp thread, the two ends of which are knotted with the warp at the start and finish. This produces front and rear layers of thread, which are united into a single layer by slipping the rear warp threads between the /48/ front ones. After that the plaiting of the double thread is begun, which is done without implements, only with the fingers, from right to left; it should also be mentioned that it is started at the top. All hammocks are plaited with very wide meshes, for the intervals between the individual cross-bindings, which are knotted at the beginning and end, are 8-12 centimeters. To fasten the hammocks ropes of
[824] Bromelia fibers (curauá) are used, which, made of four strands, braidlike, are twisted to the right.

352 When a hammock has been used for some time, it gradually takes on a dirty-brown appearance. This comes about because
[302] the urucú color with which the Indians frequently paint their bodies rubs off on it somewhat when they lie down and adheres to the cotton.

/49 cont./

8. Basketry

285 462 [824] Basketry is carried on primarily by the women. The only exceptions are temporary carrying-baskets of natural palm leaves, which are made by both sexes, and carrying-baskets of curauí, the making of which falls to the men.

[824] If the Indians need a temporary carrying-basket in the forest, they simply place two pinnate palm leaves close together on the ground (most often they use for this the leaves of the patauí, acai, and ubim palm) and interweave the inner sides to make a firm surface. Then both leaves are bent over at the upper end, which makes the bottom, and on the outside a braidlike rim is plaited 482 (Ill. 32). By means of a carrying-band of embira, very heavy loads can then be carried with this basket, called pakokéhe, above all fruits, but also pieces of large game, for example, tapir, which the hunter alone cannot carry into the maloka. Men always slip the carrying-band over upper arms and chest, while women prefer the forehead for this.

285 191 Similar baskets are found among the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana (269), as well as among the

269. Roth, 1924, p. 379 and Pl. 124.

Urubu in the Brazilian state of Maranhão (270). Similar specimens,

270. Lopes, 1932, p. 147 and Fig. 6.

however, are used by the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ and Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the Xingú source region (271), to mention only a few more

271. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 500 ff. and Figs. 13 and 14.

examples, which, however, could be augmented at will. It is seen from this that many tribes were in a position to make carrying devices out of natural palm leaves.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

285 462 [824] More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 194 [971] This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type

272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development [179] is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is [184] likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275).

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuëka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34).

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

/55 cont./

412 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This
184 strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xirišna, unlike the Surára and Pakidái, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly
462 women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side
302 (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

412 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American
171 Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw
237 of the wild pig -- manacoauí --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waikâ (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat
[192] flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long --
[824] namunamutehí --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waikâ (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm
462 should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimá (see also pp. 112/114).

412 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden
197 times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as tercados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

173 /75 cont./ According to their
241 own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriána as their culture-
177 bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely
[829] adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

224 b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larâ -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norâ -- (350). The latter,

[573] [462] 359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

[184] 350. Among the Waikâ, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

[231]

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xâma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajâ. The

Surára
Pakidai
Waica

/178/

226 184 Among the Waikâ, too, fishing ranks last in the acquisition of food and is likewise practiced with bow and arrow there, as well as with the fishhook in more recent times. It is worth noting, however, that in addition they are familiar with a method of fishing by poisoning the water (356a) (356b) 357).

356a. Barker, 1953, pp. 464/65.

356b. Zerries, 1956b, p. 152.

357. Zerries, 1958c, p. 179.

222 d) Gathering

[462] Not only women, but also men take part in the gathering activity. The latter have the duty in particular to bring in the fruits of the many palm species (358), of which the following are

358. The general name for palms is -- petabaámo.

the most important: acaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) -- uaíma --, bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus Mart. or Oenocarpus bacaba Mart.) -- hokomaké --, bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.) -- yauetosík --, buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.) -- etewexí --, curua (Attalea spectabilis Mart.) -- yauatoá --, tucuma (Astrocaryum sp.) -- pahá -- (359), and pupunha (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) --

[481] 359. To climb the palms named they used the climbing ring (see pp. 119/120).

komunamá -- (360). The fruits of smaller palms that are easy to

[481] 360. Since the trunk of this palm is covered with sharp thorns -- mimicibá --, it can be climbed only with the help of two specially constructed implements (see pp. 121/122).

/78 cont./

222 climb, such as the piaçaba (Attalea funifera Mart. and Leopoldinia piassaba Wal.) -- tanbarí -- and ubim (Geonoma sp.) -- komixí --, are gathered by men and women in the same manner.

[462] A division of labor between the sexes may be observed in the gathering of the fruits of the inga trees (Inga sp.) -- kepõ -- growing on the banks of rivers and brooks. In this case, however, they do not take the trouble to climb the tall, broad-limbed trees. They are felled by the men, and then the women and children strip off the long, dark-green, hard-shelled pods, the beans of which are embedded in a white, spongy pulp as sweet as sugar. This is sucked out and then spat out along with the seed. Men, women, and children relish it even while they are working, but the bulk of the pods are tied together with lianas and carried into the maloka by the women, where the pulp is again sucked out with great satisfaction. -- The fruits of the wild caju tree (Anacardium sp.) -- uitõ -- (361) are harvested in the same way, that is, by

361. The corresponding Waikâ name is "widó" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150).

felling the trees. Of this, however, the Surára and Pakidái eat only the longish, dark-red, shiny receptacle, which is extraordinarily juicy and is especially prized as pleasantly refreshing. The kidney-shaped, greenish-black kernel, on the other hand, is not eaten. -- The fruits of the chestnut, castanha-do-pará (362)

362. We know them as Pará nuts.

(Bertholletia excelsa H.B.K.) -- hokoõ --, are very popular. During the rainy season, when the ouricos (ball-shaped husks with a hard shell, which weigh more than one kilogram and contain between 10-30 chestnuts) fall from the tall trees because of gusts of wind, the entire tribe often travels to the chestnut forests on the lower Aracá or the middle Demini, in order to reap a rich harvest here, in which again both sexes take part. The ouricos, wherever they are found, are cut open with a stone or, if available, with a terçado (large bush-knife), and the chestnuts are poured into the

Suvarg
Pakidai

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying
[361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka
[622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarf --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, carí, cotton,
• [462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184] 368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

[134] falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132] 369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

24
36
166 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka
245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

/81/

Designation of the Surára and Pakidái:	Designation of the regional caboclo population:
pakatarimã	pacovão
kuratí pauximí	inajá
nakaximí	São Tomé roxa
rokojá	São Tomé branca
rokomã	banana maçã (?)
parauá	caité
roórenvõkãkõ	banana bajé
xiahíma	Banana govêrno (375)

375. Unfortunately, I could not carry out a botanical classification of these varieties.

With the help of a digging stick made from the wood of the pupunha palm and 1.60-1.80 meters long, which has a flattened point at the lower end (Ill. 38), or a broken bow-staff, cuttings of banana trees are planted in the clearing, and after only a few months they are full-grown and bear fruit. The work of planting as well as the care of the plants falls to the men, while the women help only with the harvest (376).

376. Among the Waikí, the plants are cared for by men and women (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Besides the banana, the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) -- komunamá -- is cultivated to a considerable extent. Cuttings are used for planting, but occasionally seeds as well. These palms, which always stand between the bananas, give the clearings of the Surára and Pakidái a characteristic stamp (Ill. 37). The trunk, 18-20 meters tall, which is covered with pointed thorns -- mifmicibá -- and can therefore be climbed only

249 /82/ Besides the cultivated plants used for food, some are raised to be used for enjoyment. These are primarily tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) -- peenſke -- (387) and a pepper plant (Piperacea sp.) --

387. The Waikâ word for this is "be" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

maxarahâ -- (388) which is required for making the narcotic

[184] 388. This plant is also cultivated by the Waikâ and is designated by almost the same name "masho hara" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

snuff-powder (see pp. 192), as well as -- perakî -- (389)

389. The Waikâ call this pepper plant "blaki" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

(Piper caudatum Vahl.), Portuguese pimenta-dos-índios, with which they spice their food.

249 824 Finally, the cultivation of plants yielding important required articles should be mentioned. These are arrow cane (Sagittaria montevidensis Cham. et Schl.) -- xerekaſbe --, the urucuzeiro (Bixa orellana L.), from whose seeds, found in a thorny capsule, the red coloring matter urucú -- narâ -- is obtained (see p. 122), as well as a Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria L. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda), the fruits of which are used as vessels (see p. 114).

248 The cultivation of cotton (Gossypium barbadense or hirsutum) -- xinarî -- is of comparatively recent date.

252 [462] 8. Preparation of Food

The preparation of solid food is almost exclusively in the hands of the women, but the roasting of game is reserved for the men (390). There are two methods of doing this: The simplest

[171] 390. According to Baldus, this prerogative

Suráya
Pakidai

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390. (cont.)
of the men is found among most Brazilian tribes: "Entre os povos naturais do Brasil, as grandes caças são assadas ou moqueadas, em geral, pelos homens /among the primitive peoples of Brazil, big game is, in general, roasted or smoked by men/" (Baldus, 1950, p. 7).

252 and most common consists of impaling a piece of meat on a pointed stick, sticking the latter into the ground obliquely toward the fire, and turning it from time to time, so that all sides are equally exposed to the heat. There are also square [171] roasting racks (Portuguese moquém) with grates of wooden rods which, in the same shape or in triangular form, are familiar to almost all primitive peoples of tropical South America (391).

391. These roasting racks are made in the following way: Four sticks, forked at the top, are stuck into the ground so that a square is formed, cross rods are placed in the forks, and over them are laid sticks which are fastened with lianas.

The men use the roasting rack mostly if the meat of large animals, such as tapirs and wild pigs, is to be prepared, because several pieces can be roasted at once. Now and then, however, I also saw a whole monkey lying on the grate. So that no fat will be lost during roasting, the skin is not removed beforehand, but only when one sits down to eat. The entrails, however, are removed from the animals before roasting or boiling. They are not discarded, however, but wrapped in palm leaves and steamed in the hot ashes, to be consumed afterwards with great relish. When the roasting rack is used, an even fire; not too hot, is kept burning under it day and night. Before festivals, when it is desired to preserve exceptionally large quantities of meat,

/103 cont./

769 25 [462] few days. This roasting belongs to the men's sphere of duties, as does the harvesting of pupunha fruits. The latter are then made into a drink by the women. Moreover, they fetched from the plantings large quantities of bananas which were put in the sun so that they could ripen, and, finally, it should be mentioned that among all the families several stacks of manioc flat-cakes were piled up little by little.

769 535 [296] On the evening of April fourth, toward 9:00, the actual festival began. Five men and five boys, who wore cotton belts over their hip cords, danced, after the former had first blown snuff-powder into each other's noses, one behind the other (two steps forward and one back, during which the more marked lifting of the knees with a slight turning outward of the legs is to be noted), on a circular path in the open circle of the maloka, and, to be sure, counterclockwise (509a). The first two men

509a. In all the dances that go around the periphery of a circle the participants dance counterclockwise.

each held two arrows in the right hand, and the rest, as well as [533] all the boys, had their hands crossed behind their heads. Occasionally one man would sing in a beautiful, full bass voice, and the others would then join in chorus. The songs were very melodious and furnished the rhythm for the dance steps (509b).

[534]

509b. The Surára and Pakidái accompany dances in part with songs, for musical instruments are unknown to them.

[296] Toward 10:00 more men, in part with arrows, in part without, and boys (all without arrows) joined the dancers, and at 11:30 all the men and boys, with the exception of the Surára chief, were gathered in the center of the maloka courtyard, where, from a large clay plate filled with snuff-powder that had been placed here along with several snuff tubes, they blew huge quantities into each other's noses. Then they sat down in a

/441 cont./

Obtaining Food

224 Hunting.

Hunting is done with bows and arrows.

A broad arrow-point of bamboo is used against larger land game, such as the danta, the váquiros /peccaries/, and the large [411] rodents. Poisoned points are used against monkeys and occasionally against dantas. Bone points are used principally to hunt birds. Small birds are hunted with arrows with a blunt point or forked point.

[231] Dogs are used in hunting, and in the case of the smallest wild pigs, these dogs frequently do more killing than the hunters.

The hunters hunt together and surround the game. The one who succeeds in killing it is the owner of the animal. He might make a gift of a few pieces to those who have helped him, but in general he carries the entire animal to his house, where it is cooked. A danta, of course, must be divided up on the spot in order to be transported.

262 Almost all the mammals are eaten, felines being the principal exception. A few snakes are eaten; others are not. The babilla /an amphidious reptile/ is also eaten. Birds of prey, such as hawks, eagles, vultures, and turkey buzzards and others, are not eaten. Almost all the other birds are eaten, even the little humming birds.

/442/ Meat is considered an essential part of the diet and perhaps occupies the second place of importance after platanos.

226 Fishing.

Several types of toxins are used to poison fish in the small currents of water. One of these is a bejuco. Another is the shell of an edible nut with a prickly husk. Another is the bark of a certain tree of great size.

226 When the waters lower in streams and swamps (generally
462 around the months of January and February), women and children
857 go out armed with clubs and come back with baskets full of fish.

/442 cont./

221 When the larger river is low, the men wade into the current
462 and shoot at the fish with their arrows with bone points. Then, since the arrow lacks a string with which one could pull in the fish, they must run after the game in order to finish it off with blows of the machete or club.

226 For fishing they are beginning to use hook and line with increasing skill.

262 Almost all species of fish and aquatic animals are eaten.

227 Honey.
262 To obtain honey, the usual method is to cut down the trunk in which the hive is found, using the ax. Nevertheless, they sometimes manage to climb it and obtain the honey without needing to knock it down. There is also a species of bee which lives in the ground, and its honey must be dug up. They possibly eat the honey of some ten or more varieties of bees.

Eggs.

The eggs of the majority of the wild birds are collected and cooked. They wrap them in leaves and place them on the embers of a wood fire. They are cooked in a short time. Some prefer to eat the eggs when /443/ the chick has begun to form. Turtle eggs are also eaten, but they are scarce, except down-river.

Insects.

Bees are eaten when they are still in the larval form in their nest. Wasps are chased away by means of a torch of dry leaves, which kills or chases away the adult wasps. Then they take down the wasp's nest, which they place for a short time over the hot embers. Roasted wasp larvae are then eaten with pleasure.

Wild fruits and seeds.

It seems that there is not a time without at least a few types of wild fruits and seed in season. Most of these are eaten raw, although a few are cooked. During its harvest, the wabu -- a large seed similar to the frijol -- can be very important, especially when other foods are scarce.

/445 cont./

241 Many of the Guaika /Waica/ are very careful with regard to weeding their plantings, especially when the plants are small. Later, when the plants have reached a good development, they weed the plantings less frequently. Then, perhaps three or more years later, when the land has begun to yield less produce, they cease weeding it altogether and harvest only what has managed to grow by hard efforts.

222 Generally, there is found in these "conucos," at least in the abandoned ones, the "pijiguao" palm. This is because the "pijiguao" begins to produce about the time the earth has become too poor for other produce.

222 The fruit of the "pijiguao" palm is harvested by loosening
481 the bunches by means of a long pole with a hook. When the palm has grown too much to perform /446/ this operation from the ground, the Guaika climb it, using two devices, each one made out of a pair of sticks tied together in the form of an X, which, although being adjusted to the thorny trunk of the palm, can be slid up or down while the climber keeps his foot on one of these platforms (see Fig. 1). Once the bunch has been reached and loosened, it is carefully lowered to the ground, tied to a liana to prevent the fruit from being damaged by a fall from such a height. /I... /Fig. 1 appears here./

241 The men are the ones who clear the "conucos." The
[462] women go to the "conucos" more than anything in order to transport the harvests to their homes.

241 Every family has its own "conuco." Frequently the boys
859 begin to prepare their own "conucos" at an early age (at about
[423] 11 years old). Even boys seven years old succeed in having a few of their own plants in the "conuco" of their father or of their older brother. Other boys only help their father in the plantings and have little or nothing until they reach 18 years of age or more.

/449/

Preparation of Food

251 To keep meat from spoiling, it is first dried directly over the fire. Then it is kept on a rack over the fire, perhaps for several hours, but frequently all night. After this, it is placed a bit farther from the fire, but where the air will keep it dry, although not necessarily warm. I have seen meat kept for some ten days in this way, and doubtless it would have lasted longer had it not been eaten.

252 Meat preserved in this way is still regarded as raw and must be cooked in a pot before being eaten.

Small animals are cleaned, washed, and then boiled whole in a pot. If the animal is large, it is cut up into pieces small enough to fit into the pot. The custom of leaving the skin and [194] hair on them while they cook is perhaps a survival from the time when they did not have knives for skinning them. A string or piece of bark is tied to each piece of meat in order to be able to take it out of the pot to turn it. From time to time they take the meat out in order to prick it many times with a stick so that it will cook more quickly.

When it is finally ready, the head of the family, or the owner of the meat, shares it or divides it into portions which he distributes among his relatives or friendly families.

462 The task of cooking the meat is man's work. He is the
252 owner of the pot, does the hunting, looks for the firewood, and divides and distributes the cooked meat. (Sometimes he sends a boy to deliver the meat to some family on the other side of the circle of dwellings.)

313 The gathering of firewood for cooking food other than meat
462 and for keeping the family warm at night is woman's work. For
[412] this reason the women use the ax much more than the men do.

252 Green platanos are generally peeled and placed directly over the embers, turned a few times, and /450/ taken off when they are found ready to eat. Or they may be placed on a live fire to be cooked, but without being peeled, in order that they may not be blackened. If it is necessary to cook a large quantity of green platanos quickly, they are peeled and boiled in a pot.

/467 cont./

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[241] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The women fish with macanas and with baskets.

[179] The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the
[482] settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

[662] [685] Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that [558] [558] [555] older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired [84] [493] clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are [562] [492] [562] made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the [199] manufacture of cassava bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

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[1] The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

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Fig. 2-3. Man blowing ebene, a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.

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SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yąnomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kąoke'ri's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches, disturbed by the movements below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

[136]

Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and fetching poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and vines used in the construction.

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The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[1] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[1] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescripive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members.[19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18] Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *aiwisiwë* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescripive definitions, marry.

[19] Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

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Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers. 462 313 [482]

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity. 593 462 [252] 593 164 [137]

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the débris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.